THE CLAIMS OF THE *People of England*, ESSAYED.

In a Letter from the Country.

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THE CLAIMS of the People.

Honour'd Sir,

FROM that ſhare of your Converſation that has ſometimes happily fallen to my Lot, I could not but take notice how much you were concerned in obſerving the preſent Affairs of *England*, which point out to ſome extraordinary *Criſis*, but of ſuch a Nature as is not likely to favour the People's Intereſt ſo much as I could wiſh for: As may be gathered from the Unconcernedneſs with which they have beheld the Practices of a Court, not unlike to what they have formerly ſeen. It is not conſidered that the hopes which all good Men had conceived

from the late Revolution, have (at leaſt in ſome meaſure) been diſappointed; whilſt by ſome ſtrange and unaccountable Methods, the Revolution is gone backwards as far as King *Charles* II.d's Reign. So that FORTUNE ſeems to hold the publick Scale, which is not as yet (here at Home) determined by the weight of *Succeſs and Settlement*. We have not as yet found that *Succeſs* either in War or Peace which might reaſonably have been expected, *France* having lately obtain'd more Advantages in one Months Peace than in ten Years War: Which ſome impute to the management of the Court, others to the neglect of our Parliaments. Nor can we boaſt of a full *Settlement* in all our ancient LIBERTIES; the People in the mean while are only Spectators of what is working. All they pretend to at preſent is only to be Entertainers of Fortune by the Day, without taking Thought for to Morrow.

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The reaſon of this our unſettled Condition is oftentimes charged upon thoſe who bear their Parts in the preſent Adminiſtration: As if their higheſt Concern were to promote their private Intereſts whilſt they ſacrifice the Publick to Fortune. Some are ſo weak as to blame the KING; which is as ridiculous as for the Tenants to blame the Lord of the Mannor for not rectifying the Abuſes crept in among them, when their own Grand Jury have not ſo much as preſented them in open Court.

But after the beſt Obſervation that I can make, the Blame of our imperfect Revolution is chiefly (if not wholly) to be laid on the Commoners of *England*; who having a juſt CLAIM to be the richeſt, ſtrongeſt, beſt-governed, and in all Reſpects the greateſt People in *Europe*, do yet (through meer Negligence and Careleſneſs) abſtain from the purſuit of theſe their juſt Claims, which with ſmall Applica

tion they may make good both to themſelves and Poſterity; pretending only to rouze up themſelves from Sleep when the Bow-ſtring touches their Neck: But as ſoon as the iminent Danger is paſt the Fear is over, and no Precaution is taken to prevent the like Calamity for the future. 'Tis a Misfortune to a well-inclined Prince that he is ſubjected to thoſe Temptations which ſuch a careleſs Humour of his People brings upon him; and a People who ſo groſly neglect themſelves, loſe the Right of complaining if they are neglected by their Governors.

Nevertheleſs I cannot but think it the Duty of Engliſh-men to adviſe and aſſiſt one another for the publick Benefit; and particularly by endeavouring to awaken their drowzy Country-men out of this ſeemingly fatal Lethargy: To the end that they take a view of thoſe eminent Advantages to which they can make ſo good a Title; and that the

the growing Generation may be excited to exert that Power which God and the happy Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government have put into their Hands; whereby at laſt they may make good all their juſt CLAIMS both to themſelves and ſuch as ſhall come after them.

This was the Method (as a Politician would ſay) which *Moſes* took when he led an unfortunate Colony of his own Country-men out of *Egypt*; when to raiſe their Courage, which had been long dejected by their ſlaviſh condition of Life, he aſſured them that they were God's peculiar People, belov'd by their *Jehovah* above all other Nations: And if they would but ſhew themſelves like Men, and vigorouſly puſh on their Fortune, they might make good their Claim to a Land flowing with Milk and Hony. The Hiſtory of that time ſhews us that this one Inſinuation of *Moſes* had ſuch an admirable effect upon his People, that the Rule *Crede*

quod habes & habes, was exemplify'd in them: For they made good that Title which God had given them to the Land of *Canaan*.

'Tis alſo a Matter of fair Belief that the People of *England* have not only a Title to, but likewiſe the actual poſſeſſion of as good a Country as was that which *Iſrael* fought for: And that they ought to enjoy not only the Benefits of this Land, but in virtue of thoſe Advantages, in conjunction with their own good Nature and happy Genius to Manufactures at home and Trade abroad, they have a Right to be the richeſt, ſtrongeſt, beſt-governed, and conſequently the greateſt People of *Europe*. And I humbly conceive that 'tis at any time in their Power to make good all theſe Claims to themſelves and Poſterity upon the foot of their old Conſtitution, under the Adminiſtration of his preſent Majeſty King *William* III. without running the leaſt hazard of Alteration or new Revolution. And

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I am perſuaded that if the People of *England* were appriz'd hereof, they would ſoon take their Right into their poſſeſſion.

Now, Sir, not knowing how to exert ſuch a ſublime and powerful Oratory as may raiſe the People from their dangerous Lethargy, nor being able to ſound into their Ears the Advantages they only dream over, my humble Requeſt is that you would imploy that clear and perſwaſive Style you are Maſter of, in ſetting forth the CLAIMS OF THE PEOPLE OF *ENGLAND*: Which are grounded

I. Upon the GROWTH AND MANUFACTURE of *England*.

II. Upon its POPULOUSNESS, together with the GENIUS of the People to TRADE BY SEA. And,

III. Upon the convenience of our SITUATION for our Sea-Trade.

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From theſe three Things put together we may claim the greateſt Trade of *Europe*: And, in Virtue thereof, the greateſt Strength at Sea, and Plenty at Land.

IV. From the GOOD NATURE of *Engliſh* People they have a juſt Claim to the good Opinion of their Sovereign Prince, whoever he be that ſhall rule over them. If a Prince be made Jealous of his People's Levity, the Strength of that Government is loſt; but when a Prince can firmly rely upon the Affection of his People, then is that Nation in the fulneſs of its Power: As was *England* in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*.

And all our Hiſtories will witneſs for us that we were never ſubject to Levity; having always vigorouſly aſſiſted our Kings in all their Enterprizes which were not deſigned directly againſt our own Selves: And as long as any of our late Kings of the Scotiſh Line were tole-

tolerable, we bore Faith and true Allegiance towards them, altho' we ſaw both the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation much impair'd by the Novel and narrow Methods of their Adminiſtration. Indeed the whole Adminiſtration of the Scotiſh Line ſeems to have been one continued Experiment of the Engliſh Solidity, and a ſtrong Proof how much the Nation could bear. For *James* I. was obey'd during his long and corrupt Reign; notwithſtanding the high Provocation which his Scotiſh Favourites gave to the Nobility and Commons. The Burthen of King *Charles* I. and his Popiſh Queen was born as long as it was in any meaſure ſupportable. I can remember when King *Charles* II. ſhut up the Exchequer, and took the publick Revenue to his private Uſes, which no free People in the World, but the Engliſh, would have endur'd; eſpecially when inſtead of paying his Debts, the publick Treaſure, in conjunction with the French Penſions,

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was imploy'd to Bribe an Houſe of Commons; which is the worſt Miſchief that can poſſibly befal us. For a foreign Invaſion may be repell'd, or if it prove ſucceſsful for a Time, yet the old Spirit of *England* may ariſe at one time or other, and we may take Heart of Grace and cut the Throats of our Lord-Danes; but if the repreſentative Body of the People be Penſion'd at Home or from Abroad, all our Rights will be ſubmitted to Pleaſure. But yet all the People bore the Burthen of King *Charles* II. for many tedious Years. And King *James* II. did actually ſubvert the Engliſh Laws before the People aroſe in their own Defence.

Surely there are not a better natured People than the Engliſh, or a Commonality of better Senſe, or which ſhew a ſtronger Inclination to Acts of Juſtice and Kindneſs. Whoſoever imploys them, and pays them for their Labour, ſhall find them offering their Friendſhip upon any emergent Account wherein they may

may be Serviceable. And their Love to Juſtice is ſeen by their conſtant taking the Magiſtrate's part in execution of Juſtice: And tho' the Hearth-Mony was a Tax of that nature, that in ſome Meaſure it invaded every Man's juſt Dominion over his own Free-hold, yet as long as that Tax was collected by the known publick Officers in Towns and Country Villages, the People paid it quietly; but when that Revenue was Farm'd out to Court-harpies, and the Opinions of the Attorny and Sollicitor General were brought into the Country by unknown Collectors, to over-awe the Juſtices of the Peace into a compliance with their Uſupations, it muſt be confeſs'd that in ſome Places the common People diſputed with the Chimny-men the Authority of the Attorny and Sollicitor to ſtretch a Tax beyond its true Staple.

In moſt other Countries the Caſe is otherwiſe, where the common People will take upon them to obſtruct

ſtruct the Execution of Juſtice, and where the Magiſtrate ſtands in fear of the People, a Thing unknown in *England*; where the common Man is the Protector of the Magiſtrate, or of the meaneſt Officer in the Execution of Juſtice.

Nay, there is ſcarce a common Man in *England* but is fit for an Arbitration, as was pleaſantly obſerv'd by a *German* Gentleman, at his return from *London* into his own Country; where, meeting with an Engliſh Gentleman in his Travels, he took an occaſion to tell him, How having loſt his Dog in that City, and by Accident eſpying him ſome Days after, he took him up into his Arms, but was interrupted in the poſſeſſion of him by a Life-guard-man, who being aſſiſted by his Companions, fell upon the Stranger and ſeiſed his Dog, affirming it to be his own; but the People ſeeing ſuch Violence offer'd to a ſingle Man, and pittying the poor Forreigner, who for want of Engliſh, could

could not plead his own Cauſe; one of the Croud, who was a Black-Smith, perceiving that the Quarrel aroſe about the ownerſhip of the Dog, preſently undertook to decide it, and ſetting the Forreigner and Guard-man at a good diſtance from each other, placed the Dog in the midſt, and made Signs to both of 'em to call him, who preſently ran to the Forreigner, and was awarded to him by the Black-Smith and the whole Croud. An Accident of this nature would not have been taken notice of by an Engliſh Man, but yet this Accident was related by this *German* as a Thing worthy of his Obſervation; he ſaying at the ſame time, that he thought the common People of *England* to be the juſteſt People in the World.

And as to the common People of *England*, it may be truly ſaid of them, that the Government they live under renders them more able for, and more inclining to Juſtice than any other People, *viz.* becauſe almoſt

almoſt all the executive Power of the Law is lodged in their Hands. 'Tis hard to find a Man who has not ſometime been call'd to bear Office in his Pariſh or Borough, or who has not ſerved on the Coroner's Inqueſt, or on ſome Jury or Homage in Court-Baron or Court-Leet, if not at the Quarter Seſſions or Aſſizes: Whereby the common People of *England* gain a greater experience in Juſtice than the practice of Law in forreign Countries will allow to that ſort of People.

You will ſay then, What makes the People of *England* ſo much miſtaken in their greateſt Concern, as ſometimes to chuſe ſuch Members of Parliament who will ſell their Intereſt for Penſions, and not ſuch who will make good all their Claims? And you may as well ask the Queſtion how Men come to Sin againſt God; which Queſtion will ſoon be anſwered, if it be only ſuppoſed that the Devil, a moſt ſegacious cuning old Creature, is permitted

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to play a thouſand inviſible Tricks upon Mankind in order to delude them, if he can inject what Ideas he pleaſes into our Minds, and hold 'em there till they dazle our Imaginations, obſcure our brighteſt Thoughts, and thereby excite our Inclination to join with his Suggeſtions. And if it be the manner of a Court to ſtudy plauſible Fallicies, and find out falſe Colours on purpoſe to draw the common People from their true Intereſt, how ſhall they avoid being deceiv'd? Eſpecially if Satan ſhall appear like an Angel of Light, as heretofore, when the ſacred Function recommended *Slavery* under the ſpecious colour of *Loyalty and Apoſtolick Obedience.*

The Spirit of this CHARM is only *an opportunity given to Self-intereſt in Parliament*, which, Mankind wanting the moral Virtue of Self-denial to withſtand, has need to be fortify'd by the Political Virtue of a Self-denying Ordinance.

Indeed the *State-Magick* of latter Days has out-done all former Enchantments; not excepting thoſe of the old Witch *Circe* her ſelf. The *Romans* of old could not have preſerv'd their Gravity and Diſcretion, if, during the War with *Gaul*, they ſhould have ſeen their old Senators delighting to wear the *Gallick* Dreſs; eſpecially if they had heard that the *Gauls* took a Phancy to the *Roman* Gown: If *Camillus* ſhould have pleaded the Cauſe of *Gaul*, and *Brennus* ſhould have proteſted that he had brought an Army into *Italy* to be commanded by the Senate of *Rome*: And if ſuch *Magical Mummery* ſhall be ſeen in *England*, by which the old Champions for publick Liberty ſhall be held in *Limbo*, and not ſuffer'd to move their Tongues but in behalf of Royal Prerogative; whilſt on the other Hand the Men of high Principles ſhall advocate the People's Liberties, the common People who behold this ſtrange *Metamorphoſis* may be allow'd

allow'd to forfeit one Moiety of their Underſtandings, whilſt their Heads turn round with the Enchantment.

Beſides this, there are ſo many Commiſſions for Places of Honour and Truſt which are derived from the Court, and receiv'd as great Favours by the Country-Gentlemen, as are ſufficient to delude the better ſort of Men; for *a Gift* (as *Moſes* obſerved) *blindeth the Wiſe, and perverteth the words of the Righteous*, Exod. 23. 8. I remember a certain Perſon who happened in Diſcourſe to ſay, That the King's Proclamations were not Laws, but only ſet forth to give the People notice of ſome Law which at that time was needful, in a more than ordinary manner to be put in execution. But this Perſon was ſeverely reprimanded for ſo ſaying by a Juſtice of the Peace at that time in high Favour, who, by his Authority in the Country carried it in the Affirmative.

Now if Men of Figure and Quality are thus far charm'd by Court-magick, how ſhall the comman Man preſerve himſelf? Such is their ſimple good Nature, that if a Gentleman treats them with common Civility, they think that they can never ſufficiently repay the Condeſcention. But the moſt condeſcending Men have ſome private Intereſt to ſerve by the Priviledges of Parliament, or ſome Perquiſits belonging to that Station which are ſometimes ſeen to *pervert the Words of Righteouſneſs.*

Theſe Court-Mollifications have occaſioned the wonderful Changes which of late have been obſerved among Men. Have we not ſeen Men of eminent Abilities, noted Integrity, and known Love to their Country, promoted to Places in Court? Who in the late Reigns expoſed themſelves to the madneſs of King *James*, and the bloody Zeal of the Popiſh Party in defence of the Laws

Laws and Liberties of *England*, but are now in appearance promoting Slavery in compliſance to a Court. They were known to be Men of good Nature, Veracity and Friendſhip: But have now learnt the figurative way of expreſſing themſelves by Words without meaning. Now they ſacrifice their old Friends to their old Enemies, to convince them that they are no longer that ſort of Men which heretofore they were taken to be. And as for Nature the Caſe has been obſerv'd to ſtand thus. Let an ill-natur'd Man be preferr'd at Court, and he ſhall ſtill preſerve that Nature which he brought thither with him. But Court-Preferment ſhall change a Man's good Nature into meer *Artfulneſs*, he ſhall become *an artificial Man*, having no Nature at all; but yet ſtriving by Art to counterfeit his former good Nature. Such a one is only *the living Image of his former Self*: He will ſpeak kindly to a former Acquain-

tance, and promiſe what he never intends to perform. What ſhall one ſay of this Tranſmutation of human Nature! What a thing is Man! Is the human Soul no more than the Reſult of Bodily Temperament, in conjunction with the Circumſtances of Fortune! Is it come to this, that there muſt either be no Monarchy or elſe no Morality in the World!

No, Things need not come to this paſs, if the Parliament but lay Claim to their ancient Right of diſpoſing the Truſts of the Nation. The true publick Spirit of *Old England* will be revived thereby, and the Monarchy under this Circumſtance will introduce no Immorality. This is what was practiſed in the Adminiſtration of the old Engliſh Government, when the publick Truſts of the Realm were diſpoſed of by the Eſtates of the Realm in Parliament aſſembled; and *Matthew Paris* tells us, That when King *Henry* III. attempted to create a

Judge

Judge by his own Power, the Parliament then Sitting, made a Remonſtrance againſt it, telling the King, *That it was not wont to be ſo in the days of his Royal Predeceſſors.* And the reaſon of this Remonſtrance is given by Mr. *Daniel* (our beſt Engliſh Writer of Hiſtory, becauſe he copies *Matthew Paris*) in theſe Words, *For* (ſays he) *as the Function is publick, ſo alſo ought to be the Election.* This one Rule lays a Foundation of publick Liberty; for hereby all the Movements in the Common-Weal are rendered conformable to the true firſt Mover, from whence they receive their Energy. And 'tis this practice alone which makes all Governments uſeful and eaſy: As in a Pariſh-government, wherein the Church-wardens and Over-ſeers of the Poor are choſen by the Inhabitants: And the Surveyers of the High-ways are likewiſe recommended by the Pariſhioners; as alſo the Conſtable and Headborough: And hereby it

is that Pariſh-government carries nothing in it uneaſy or unpleaſing to the People. For naturally every one is beſt pleaſed with his own choice, and hereby both Honours and Burdens are equally born. And why ſhould I give more Trouble than needs muſt to a Pariſh-officer, when I know 'twill come to my own turn to bear Office, if I have not known the trouble of that already?

So in the Government of a Mannor the Grand-jury and Homage preſent all Grievances and Vacancies which happen by the death of their Fellow-tenants thus they live eaſily under their Lord, who is obliged to act in Conformity to their Preſentments.

In like manner when High-Sheriffs, and Lords-Lieutenants of Counties were choſen (as heretofore) by the *Freeholders* at the County-court, it occaſioned a great Bond of Union and Affection between the Counties and their Governors, both Civil

Civil and Military. That it was thus of old we read in St. *Edward*'s Laws, in the Chapter *de Heretochiis*; *There were certain Officers appointed throughout all the Kingdom who were called Heretocks, in Latin* DUCES, *Commanders of Armies, that were to command the Forces of the ſeveral Counties for the good of the Realm; and they were choſen by the general Council, and in the ſeveral Counties at the publick Aſſemblies of the Inhabitants, as the Sheriffs ought to be choſen.* And it may be obſerved that when the Lords-Lieutenants were choſen by the Free holders, the Miltia was ſufficiently uſeful to defend the Realm, or to invade *France* when there was occaſion. And the rather, becauſe their General Officers were choſen in Parliament.

And without doubt nothing can lay ſo firm a Foundation of Love and Affection between thoſe who are in Power and thoſe who obey, as when the Superiors have their Truſts

Truſts committed to them by publick Conſent. And therefore it may be preſumed, that the great Wheel of the National Government moved regularly and eaſily, when the great Officers of the Realm were choſen by the Eſtates of the Realm aſſembled in Parliament, as was the antient Cuſtom.

But tho' the Diſpoſal of publick Truſts has, for a long time, paſſed into Royal Prerogative, yet theſe great Truſtees do, to this day wear in their Titles their old Relation to the Realm, and not to the King of *England*; as it is not ſaid *The King*'s Lord High Chancellor, *The King*'s Lord Treaſurer, *The King*'s Lord High Admiral; but *The Lord High Chancellor of England*, *The Lord High Admiral of England*, *The Lord Treaſurer of England*.

Amongſt the Subaltern Governments in the Realm, that of *London* ſtill retains its Conformity to the old

old publick-Weal of *England*: For the Citizens at their Ward-moots chuſe the Alderman of their Ward for Life, and their Common-council-men only for a Year; reſerving to themſelves the liberty upon every St. *Thomas*'s-day to leave out and take in for the enſuing Year whom they pleaſe.

But to return to the great Truſts of the Realm. Nothing has been ſaid of late with greater Confidence and leſs Reaſon, than that if the King ſhould ſuffer theſe Truſts to be withdrawn from his ſole diſpoſals he would thereby un-king himſelf, and dwindle into a *Doge of Venice*. And yet 'tis certain, by what we read in our old Hiſtories, that our former Kings who had not gain'd this Prerogative of Place-giving, did greater Things than any of our latter Princes. Nay, the ſame Hiſtories will inform us, that thoſe Kings who attempted to break in upon this antient Priviledge of the Parli-

Parliament, did thereby loſe the Love of their People, and became mean in their Character. Witneſs King *John* and his Son *Henry* the Third.

But altho' the Court may think it *convenient* to diſpoſe of the great Truſts in the Realm, Right muſt ſtill take place of a real convenience, much more of an imaginary one. And if the diſpoſal of theſe Truſts was Originially lodged in the Eſtates of the Realm, it muſt be there ſtill remaining, except only what part of it they have granted away by their own free Conſent. And if they have granted away to the King no more Power than that of making Lords Lieutenants and High Sheriffs, the Power of creating all other great Officers of Truſt muſt ſtill remain in them.

But after all, it may be doubted whether the King's diſpoſal of publick Truſts be for his Majeſty's Advantage

vantage. 'Tis certain that the People will be beſt pleaſed when the publick Truſts are at their own diſpoſal: And 'tis no ſmall Advantage to a Prince to reign over a People who are freed from Jealouſy and Diſcontent. But the royal Prerogative of *Place-giving*, has been the occaſion of all the Jealouſies between the King and People that I can remember; which has come to paſs by this never failing way and means.

There is a vicious Gratitude in Mankind which inclines him to rob *Peter* that he may pay *Paul*, *viz.* to gratify their Patron or Benefactor at the Expence of the publick Weal: As if a Man's prior Obligation to the Publick were effaced, by a freſh Obligation to the King. 'Twas this frailty which worked once upon the Biſhops to oppoſe the Bill for excluding the (then) Duke of *York*. They were Caſuiſts good enough to know that their original Obligation to the Publick, ought to have taken place of that latter Obligation the Duke had

had laid upon them, by promoting them to their Sees. But yet the Vice of Gratitude carried them away from their known Duty. From the ſame vicious Gratitude aroſe all the religious Flatteries of that time; as the Jure divino-ſhip *and Unaccountableneſs of Kings, together with that Claim of a Patriarchal Power; that there is no diſtinction between the natural and political Power of a King. That Laws are no Bounds to a King's Imperial Power, tho' they may guide his politick Power*; together with the trayterous Doctrin of *Paſſive Obedience*, which at once takes away all the ſecurity of Laws, by changing the Government from Legal to *Arbitrary*.

It may be noted that theſe pernicious Doctrins were the Inventions of learned Men, and great Wits, who by large Preferments were invited to Court-Service. Which ſhews, that as the old Engliſh Conſtitution was plain and eaſy, ſo your great

great Wits are apt to ſoar above it, or wander beſide it. Indeed this ſort of Men ſerve at Court to caſt a ſuſpicion upon the King, as if he wanted the help of ſome cunningly deviſed Fables, and when all is done, after the Common People have been deluded, they will come to themſelves again; and will not for any long time ſuffer themſelves to be governed by any other Principles than thoſe of Common Senſe.

But let us ſuppoſe that the honourable and profitable Truſts of the Realm were diſpoſed (as heretofore) by the Eſtates in Parliament, in ſuch a Caſe Gratitude to Benefactors would become a Virtue of the higheſt Rank. Let the Men of Place make it their chiefeſt Study to ſhew their Gratitude to the publick Weal. This Gratitude can never be vicious, or overflow its bounds.

Beſides, I do not think that any one thing can contribute to raiſe the eſteem of the King among his Peo-

ple,

ple, ſo much as his free Offer to reſtore this antient Claim to the Eſtates in Parliament. If the Engliſh Nation is leaning to that temper which *Tacitus* obſerv'd of the *Romans*, in his time, *Nec totam libertatem ferre poſſunt nec totam Servitutem*; if the Engliſh will not ſuffer themſelves to be quite enſlaved, nor yet make themſelves quiet free, an opportunity is thereby put into the Hands of a good Prince to ſet them free, and thereby render his Reign in the higheſt degree *Glorious*. And ſince the Doctrins and Methods of Slavery, and all the Dog-tricks of State, have in this laſt Age been deviſed by thoſe Men to whom our former Kings have given the publick Places and Penſions; what can contribute more to promote a publick Spirit in the Miniſtry, than when they ſhall receive their honourable and profitable Truſts from the publick Council of the Nation?

Some-

Something (at leaſt) equal to this was expected at the beginning of the late Revolution; and Diſappointment naturally breeds Diſcontent; but Diſcontent vaniſhes away when expectation is anſwered. It may be ſome will ſay, that this is a Common-wealth Notion: Then ſay I that *England* was a Common-wealth from the Reign of *William* the Firſt, to King *Henry* the Third's time, tho' it never wanted a King all that while. What ſtrange magick Spell lies hid in the Word Common-wealth! It frights Men like a Goblin. But yet did not King *James* the Firſt tell his Parliament from the Throne, *That he took himſelf to be the chief Servant of the Common-wealth of* England. And had King *James* the II. ſerv'd the Common-wealth of *England* as heartily as he ſerv'd a Foreign Popiſh Intereſt in oppoſition thereto, he might have ſate upon the Engliſh Throne at this day. Is any Government ſo much as tolerable which is not a Common-wealth? That is to

ſay, which do's not aim at Common-weal? Ought not every King and every Subject to be a Common-wealth's-man? And contribute all he can to the publick Weal of his Country? He who is not a Common-wealths-man is a political Sciſmatick and Separatiſt, a State-Phanatick. A King who is not a Common-wealths-man is a *Grand Turk*, a *Morocco Emperor*, a *French King*, to whoſe Protection we recommend ſuch Subjects who hate Common-wealth. But if there be ſuch a Man in the World who will not be content to enjoy the Liberties of an Engliſh Man under a Kingly Adminiſtration, but who had rather that the King be depoſed than that the ends of Government ſhould be anſwered by his Royal Care, if you ſee ſuch a one as this, catch him, and ſend him to the Baboons in the *Bear-garden*; but *Let the King live for ever.*

Now

Now ſhould we ſuppoſe a Demize of the Crown to a Foreign Prince of the *Hannover* Line wholly a Stranger to *England*, and therefore more liable to Miſtakes in the Characters of Men, and choice of Miniſters than any former Prince; or ſuppoſing before any ſuch Foreign Succeſſion ſhould happen, that her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Anne*, (happening to ſurvive our preſent wife, and moſt ſagacious Prince) ſhould take this courſe propoſed, and upon the firſt meeting of her Parliament the (then) Queen ſhould offer the choice of her Privy-Council to both Houſes, ſignifying that it is her Royal Pleaſure that ſuch Perſons whom they ſhall think fit to recommend, ſhall alſo enjoy the honourable and profitable Truſts of the Nation, in recompence for their conſtant attendance at the Council-Table; is it poſſible that any Man ſhould gain a recommendation from the noble Houſe of Peers, or honourable Houſe of Commons, by any other way than

his known Ability and Integrity for publick Service? And if the Queen ſhall be pleaſed to govern her People by the Advice and Conſent of ſuch a Council; is it poſſible that any Parliament ſhould miſlike her Adminiſtration? Would ſhe not Reign in the Hearts of her Subjects as Queen *Elizabeth* of Old, and by ſuch a Precedent tranſmit her Throne to her Poſterity or Succeſſors, as unmovable as the Center of the World? Whereas the Hearts of our former Kings (as *Edward* and *Richard* the II.) miſplaced upon other Favourites, than the Body of the People, brought on the Forfeiture of their Imperial Crowns and Dignities.

But if the Publick Truſts of the Realm ſhall be left to the diſpoſal of a Court-Favourite, who for ſecret Services ſhall be promoted to great Titles and an exorbitant Power with the Prince, thoſe honourable Truſts I have been ſpeaking of muſt of meer neceſſity be left to the care of the

the meaneſt and vileſt Sort. For Men who have a Senſe of Honour, and are Conſcious of their own Ability to diſcharge thoſe High and Noble Truſts, will hardly be ſo much ſubmitted as to bend under this Court favourite, and owe their Advancement to ſuch a Conduit-pipe of Royal Favour: So that none but thoſe of the meaneſt and baſeſt Spirit can be capable of being admitted into the greateſt Truſts of the Realm. Something of this Nature may poſſibly have happen'd heretofore under the Reigns of *Pierce Gaveſton*, the Two *Spencers*, and *Michael de la Pool*: And of late under the Sueceſſive Reigns of *Cleveland* and *Portſmouth*.

And who ever conſiders that Noble Peers and Effeminate Minions, Right Reverend Prelates, and audacious Strumpets, with their illegitimate Off-ſpring, infamous Auxiliaries and ignominous Band of Proſtitutes, derive their High Characters, and Illuſtrious Titles from one and

the ſame Spring-head, will be tempted to think that the Fountain of Honour (as it has lately run) is in ſome meaſure capable of Pollution.

But if the Torrent of Royal Favour, which at it's firſt Eruption may contract ſome foulneſs by reaſon of it's impetuous courſe, carrying along with it both Slime and Mud, ſhould be conducted thro' ſuch an even Channel, wherein it's Pollutions may be ſeparated and ſubſide, it may by that means work off all it's Dreggs, and become a Tranſparent and Chriſtial Stream. To conclude this Head of Diſcourſe, it amounts only to this, That the good Nature of *Engliſh* People in conjunction with that good Senſe which they derive from the ſhare of publick Government, entruſted to their Adminiſtration, may lay Claim to the good Will and Affection of their Sovereign Prince, who may ſafely entruſt them with any Powers which

which were formerly Veſted in their Anceſtors.

'Twas indeed an old Cuſtom for the Parliament to meet every Year on a Day certain, (as on the Firſt of *May*) and at a certain place, which Cuſtom was interrupted by reaſon of Wars in the Land, which would not ſuffer the King to meet his People at the uſual time and place: So that during the War, the King by Proclamation gave notice of what time and in what place he could beſt meet his Liege-People in Parliament; the preſent exigency of Affairs admitting then of no other Expedient. But why the ſole Power of calling Parliaments ſhould, from ſuch a neceſſity, paſs into Royal Prerogative, is not very clear; but may give a caution to future Ages, as to what Expedient they ſhall think fit to uſe for their preſervation even in their greateſt neceſſity: Since what is once impoſed upon them by the neceſſity of Affairs, is apt to paſs in-

to Precedent and Prerogative, after the neceſſity (which firſt gave it Birth) ſhall ceaſe to ſubſiſt.

How be it, as Matters ſtand at preſent with a Seſſion of Parliament once in a Year, and a new Election once in 3 Years, the publick Buſineſs of the Kingdom may be carried on very well; eſpecially if the King's Negative Voice be ſo diſcreetly us'd, as only to give Occaſion to both Houſes more maturely to conſider the neceſſity of what they have offered; as has always happen'd during His Majeſty's happy Reign, in which whatſoever Bills might at firſt have been refuſed, were yet afterwards received at the ſecond offering.

By the Coronation-Oath the King ſeems to abjure this Negative Voice. The Words of that Oath as they are recited by the Arch-biſhop when he Swears the King in order to his Coronation, are theſe; *Item tu jurabis quod confirmabis Leges iſtas quas vulgus elegerit.* Now the Laws which the People *have* already choſen ſtand

in

in need of no Confirmation by a future King; and therefore, it ſhould ſeem that he Swears (in the Clauſe) that he will grant thoſe Laws which the People *ſhall* chooſe, for the time to come. And truly 'twould be a hard Caſe if after the Wiſdom of the Nation has exerciſed it ſelf in making neceſſary Proviſions for the Publick-weal, all this Care ſhould be rendred ineffectual by the Caprice or Humour, or Ignorance of ſome prevailing Miniſters of State. Add to this, that according to an Antient Cuſtom when the Eſtates of the Realm were met together to conſult about publick Affairs; the publick Buſineſs was not to be ſtopped, altho' the King were not preſent. But to proceed.

V. The NATIVE COURAGE of the *Engliſh* being added to their Truſtineſs and good Nature, gives them a juſt Claim to the uſe of Arms for the defence of their King and themſelves under him: Eſpecially in theſe perilous times

times, when Aſſaſſination and Invaſion, Fraud and Violence, Surprize and Conqueſt, are growing into Faſhion: Nay when no leſs than *Europe* is thought ſufficient to be the Empire of an abſolute Monarch.

According to the Antient Law of *England* the whole Nation is obliged to bear Arms, excepting only the Honourable Judges of the Land, and the Reverend Clergy. For Proof whereof I will only cite one Statute-Law made in the Thirty Third Year of King *Henry* the 8th, cap. 9th, becauſe this Law is the Center of all former Laws made on the ſame Occaſion, and is at preſent unrepealed. In this Law 'tis enacted, That every Man being the King's Subject not Lame, Decrepit or Maimed, nor having any other Lawful or Reaſonable Cauſe or Impediment, being within the Age of Three-ſcore Years (except ſpiritual Men, Juſtices of one Bench, and of the other, Juſtices of the Aſſize and Barons of the Exchequer) that from the Feaſt of Pentecoſt next enſuing, uſe and exerciſe Shooting in long Bows, and alſo

so have a Bow and Arrows ready continually in his Houle, to use himself; and do use himself in Shooting. And also that the Fathers, Governors and Rulers of such as be of tender Age, do teach and train them up in the Knowledge of the same Shooting. And that every Man having a Man-child or Man-children in his Houle, shall Provide, Ordain and have in his Houle; for every Man-child being of the Age of 7 years and above, until he shall come to the Age of 17 Years, a Bow and 2 Shafts, to induce and learn them, and bring them up in Shooting, and shall deliver all the same Bows and Arrows to the same Young Men; to use and Occupy And if the same young Men be Servants, that then their Masters shall abate the Mony, that they shall pay for the same Bows and Arrows out of their Wages. And after all such Young Men shall come to the Age of Seventeen Years, every of them shall provide and have a Bow and Four Arrows continually for himself at his proper Cost and Charges, or else of the Gift and Provision of his Friends, and Use and Occupy the same in Shooting, as is before rehearsed. And if a Master suffer any of his Servants taking Wages, being in his Houle-hold, and under the Age of Seventeen Years, or the Father suffer any of

his

his Sons being in his House-hold, and under the Age of Seventeen Years, to lack a Bow and two Arrows, contrary to the form of this Statute by the space of one Month together, then the Master or Father in whom such negligence shall be, shall for every such default, Forfeit and lose six Shillings and eight Pence.

Note, That by this Clause of the Statute, altho' the Judges and Clergy are excepted from keeping and using Bows and Arrows after they are made Judges and ordain'd Clergy-men, yet the Law commanded that these Judges and Clergy should be bred up in the use of Arms. For even both these Orders of Men, were obliged to use Bows and Arrows at their Father's cost from Seven to Seventeen years: So that a Ten Years exercise of Arms was injoined to these Orders of Men. And after the Age of Seventeen Years, both sorts were obliged to use Arms till they became Clergy or Judges. Now since no Man can be made a Deacon before he is twenty three Years old, it must follow that

that every Clergy-Man muſt have had no leſs than ſixteen Years exerciſe in Arms, and every Judge muſt have had at leaſt Twenty ſix Years exerciſe in Arms; few Men being ever made Judges till at leaſt Thirty three Years of Age: But to return to the Statute, wherein 'tis alſo enacted, That Buts be made in every City Town, and Place according to the Law of antient time uſed. And that the Inhabitants, and Owellers in every of them be compell'd to make and continue ſuch Buts upon pain to forfeit for every three Months ſo lacking twenty Shillings. And that the Inhabitants ſhall exerciſe themſelves with long-Bows on Holy-Days, and other Times convenient.

After this care is taken that Bows ſhall be made not only of Ewe but of Aſh and Witchhazel, to the intent that Children ſhould have ſuch Bows as they could draw with eaſe, and ſuch as ſhould not coſt above Twelve Pence a piece. And altho' throughout the Body of this Act, ſeveral Penalties are declared againſt ſuch

ſuch who had not Bows in a readyneſs for themſelves, or Children or Servants, yet this Law was not taken for a penal Act; but the Contents thereof were by the Law-makers, eſteem'd as an antient Priviledge or juſt Right confirm'd to the People of *England*: For as much as all Aliens and Foreigners were reſtrain'd from the liberty of ſhooting in the Long Bow, as appears by this Clauſe. And that no manner of Perſon not being born within the Kings obeyſance, or made Denizon, uſe within the Kings Obeyſance ſhooting with long-Bows, without the Kings Licence upon pain of forfeiture of ſuch Bows, Arrows, and Shafts, as they ſhall be founden ſo ſhooting with. And every of the Kings Subjects may have Authority to take and ſeiſe the ſame forfeitures for his own uſe, without obtaining a Warrant from a Juſtice of the Peace, or ſo much as calling a Conſtable to ſee the Peace kept between the Engliſh man and the Foreigner.

This

This Clauſe ſavours of old Philoſophy, for *Ariſtotle* told his Pupil *Alexander* the Great, that the *Greeks* were free-Born but that all other People were Slaves by Nature. And our fore-Fathers (it ſeems) thought that the Engliſh ought to be intruſted with the means of their own Preſervation in their own Hands excluſively of all Foreigners, who ought not pretend to any Preſervation here but what our Laws afford 'em. It cannot be ſuppos'd that any Foreigner ſhould pretend to uſe the Engliſh inhabiting their own Country, at the ſame rate as our Law uſed Foreigners, ſojourning among us. And from thence I may with certainty conclude, that his moſt Gracious Majeſty, who is our rightful King, will not deny the Right of Self-preſervation to us, who have by a publick Aſſociation owned his great Merit, and Sole Right to the Crown of *England*, renouncing the late King *James*, and all his doubtful Iſſue; nor can it be thought that

that the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, ſhould ſo far diſtruſt their Sons, their Tenants, and Servants, as not to ſuffer them to handle Arms in order to fit themſelves for the Nation's Defence in caſe of any ſudden Invaſion. The reaſon upon which the fore-cited Statute was made, continues the ſame now, as it was then; which reaſon you may read in a Statute made in the ſame 33d. Year of *Hen.* VIII. Cap. 6. in theſe Words. The laudable exerciſe of the long Bow has always heretofore been the ſurety, ſafeguard, and continual Defence of the Realm of England, and an ineſtimable Dread and Terror to the Enemies of the ſame. For which reaſon it was enacted that no other Game ſhould be uſed beſides this of Shooting, as appears by this Act, wherein all other Sports are forbid as unlawful; and particularly Bowling that moſt innocent Recreation is forbidden, becauſe the Law would allow no recreating exerciſe but Shooting.

'Tis

'Tis true, the Law forbad Croſs-bows that the Game might be preſerved, but they ventured their Game to the long Bow as they may now to the Bullet and Musket, with equal ſecurity. Shot indeed are more dangerous to the Game now, than the *Norman* Croſs-bow was heretofore. But then the making and uſing of Shot, may be brought under as ſtrict Regulations as the Croſs-bow once was.

But ſtill it ſeems hard that by reaſon of an accidental Change, happening in the Engliſh Artillery of late Years, the People of *England*, who are the Guard both of the King and Realm, ſhould not be allow'd the equity of a former Law, which arm'd the whole Nation in its own defence? May not the People be truſted to Guard the King, their landlords, and themſelves? Can any accidental change of Artilery be pleaded in

bar to the neceſſary Defence of the Nation? Madmen indeed ought not to be truſted with Weapons. But the care we took of our ſelves in preſerving our Rights againſt the Incroachments of our late King, by joining with his preſent Majeſty, both for our own and his Preſervation, may challenge that an old Right of handling Arms, be truſted to us, whereby we may ſupport both King and Kingdom againſt all Invaders. When the fore-cited Statute of the 33d. of *Hen.* VIII. Cap 9. was made, 'twas not deſign'd to be a temporary Law as appears by the Title of it, which is, *Artillery ſhall be maintain'd and unlawful Games debarr'd.* And though in the 8th. of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, an Act was made which citeth the foregoing Act of King *Hen.* VIII, the deſign of the late Act was only to relieve the Bowyers and Fletchers of *London*, as to the Prices ſet upon their Bows and Arrows, but does not re-

repeal the former Act, nor diſcourage the uſe of Weapons in the Hands of the People.

'Tis, as I think, agreed among moral Philoſophers, That all Moral Virtues ariſe from frequent uſe and practiſe; and Hiſtories likewiſe agree, that Military Virtue ariſes in the ſame manner with Moral, and that thoſe Nations have been found moſt expert in War whoſe People have been moſt uſed to exerciſe of Arms. Whereas in thoſe Nations where the Sword has been taken out of the Peoples Hand, and given into the Hand of meer Mercenaries depending on the King alone, that People have thereby became mean and daſtardly in their Spirit. It muſt be agreed that ſomething of a natural Foundation of Courage muſt be laid in order to render a People Magnanimous and Great in War. But then Experience has ſhewn that the Engliſh, when accuſtom-

ed to the uſe of Arms, were not inferior to any People whatſoever; for proof whereof I will tranſcribe Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Argument hereupon, from the firſt part of the Fifth Book of his Hiſtory of the World.

" It is well known *(ſaith he)* " that *Rome* (or perhaps all the " World beſide) had never ſo " brave a Commander in War as " *Julius Ceſar*, and that no Roman " Army was comparable to that " which ſerved under the ſame " *Ceſar*: Likewiſe it is apparent " that this gallant Army, which " had given fair proof of the *Ro-* " *man* Courage in good perfor- " mance of the *Helvetian* War, " when it firſt entered into *Gaul*, " was nevertheleſs utterly diſ- " heartened when *Ceſar* led it a- " gainſt the *Germans*: So that we " may juſtly impute all that was " extraordinary in the valour of " *Ceſar*'s Men to their long Exer-

" ciſe

" ciſe under ſo good a Leader in
" ſo great a War.

" Now let us in general com-
" pare with the Deeds done by the
" beſt of theſe *Roman* Soldiers, in
" their principal Service, the
" Things perform'd in the ſame
" Country by our common Eng-
" liſh Soldier, levied in haſte from
" following the Cart or ſitting on
" the Shop-ſtall; ſo ſhall we ſee
" the difference. Herein will we
" deal fairly; and believe *Ceſar*
" in relating the Acts of the *Ro-*
" *mans*, but will call the *French*
" Hiſtorians to witneſs what
" Actions were perform'd by the
" *Engliſh*.

" In *Ceſar*'s time, *France* was
" inhabited by the *Gauls*, a ſtout
" People, but inferior to the
" *French*, by whom they were
" ſubdued even when the *Romans*
" gave them Aſſiſtance. The
" country of *Gaul* was rent in

" ſunder (as *Ceſar* witneſſeth) in-
" to many Lordſhips: ſome of
" which were governed by petty
" Kings; others by the Multi-
" tude: None ordered in ſuch
" ſort as might make it appliable
" to the neareſt Neighbour; the
" Factions were many and violent
" not only in general through the
" whole Country, but between
" the petty States, yea, in every
" City, and almoſt in every
" Houſe. What greater advan-
" tage could a Conquerour deſire?
" Yet there was a greater. *Ario-*
" *viſtus* with his *Germans* had
" over-ran the Country, and held
" much part of it in ſubjection
" little deferent from meer Sla-
" very: Yea, ſo often had the
" *Germans* prevail'd in War upon
" the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls* (who
" had ſometimes been the better
" Soldiers) did hold themſelves no
" ways equal to thoſe daily Inva-
" ders. Had *France* been ſo pre-
" par'd to our *Engliſh* Kings,

" *Rome*

" *Rome* it ſelf at this time, and long
" e're this time, would have been
" ours. But when King *Edward*
" III. began his War upon *France*,
" he found the whole Country ſet-
" tled in Obedience to one migh-
" ty King; a King whoſe Repu-
" tation abroad was no leſs than
" his Puiſſance at home: Under
" whoſe Enſign the King of *Bohe-*
" *mia* did ſerve in Perſon, at whoſe
" call the *Genoes* and other Neigh-
" bour-States were ready to take
" Arms: a King unto whom one
" Prince gave away his Dominion
" for Love, (*viz.* the *Dolphin of*
" *Viennois*); and another ſold a-
" way a goodly City and Terito-
" ry for Mony, (*viz.* King of
" *Majorca.*)

" The Country lying ſo open
" to the *Romans*, and being ſo
" well fenced againſt the Engliſh,
" it is Note-worthy not who
" prevail'd moſt therein (for it

" were meer Vanity to match the
" Engliſh Purchaſes with the
" *Roman* Conqueſts) but whether
" of the two gave the greater
" proof of Military Virtue there-
" in. *Ceſar* himſelf doth witneſs
" That the *Gauls* complained of
" their own Ignorance in the Art
" of War, and that their own
" Hardineſs was over-match'd by
" the Skill of their Enemies.
" Poor Men! they admir'd the
" *Roman* Towers and Engins of
" Battery raiſed and planted a-
" gainſt their Walls, as more than
" humane Works. What great-
" er Wonder is it that ſuch a
" People was beaten by the *Ro-*
" *mans*, than that the *Caribes*, a
" naked People, but valiant as
" any under the Sky, are com-
" monly put to the worſt by ſmall
" numbers of *Spaniards?* Beſides
" all this, we are to have regard
" to the great difficulty that was
" found in drawing all the *Gauls*,

" or

" or any great part of them to-
" gether to any one Head, that
" with joint Forces they might
" oppoſe their Aſſailants: As al-
" ſo the much greater difficulty
" of holding them long together.
" For hereby it came to paſs that
" they were never able to make
" uſe of opportunity: But ſome-
" times compell'd to ſtay for their
" Fellows, and ſometimes driven
" to give or take Battelupon ex-
" tream Diſadvantages, for fear
" leſt their Companies ſhould fall
" aſunder: As indeed upon any
" little Diſaſter they were ready
" to break, and to return every
" one to the Defence of his own.
" All this and (which was little
" leſs than all this) great odds in
" Weapon, gave to the *Romans*
" the Honour of many gallant Vi-
" ctories. What ſuch Help, or
" what other Worldly Help than
" the golden Metal of their Sol-
" diers, had our Engliſh Kings

" againſt

" againſt the *French?* Were not
" the *French* as well experienced
" in Feats of War? Yea, did not
" they think themſelves therein
" our Superiors? Were they not
" in Arms, in Horſe, in all Pro-
" viſion, exceedingly beyond us?
" Let us hear what a French Wri-
" ter *(John de Serres)* ſaith of the
" Inequality that was between the
" French and Engliſh when their
" King *John* was ready to give
" the Onſet upon the Black Prince,
" at the Battel of *Potiers*. John
" *had all Advantages over* Edward
" *both of Number, Force, Shew,*
" *Country and Conceit (the which is*
" *commonly a Conſideration of no*
" *ſmall Importance in Worldly Af-*
" *fairs) aud withal the choice of*
" *all his Horſemen (eſteem'd then the*
" *beſt in* Europe) *with the greateſt*
" *and wiſeſt Captains in his whole*
" *Realm.* And what could he
wiſh more?

" I

" I think it would trouble a
" *Roman* Antiquary to find the
" like Example in their Hiſtories,
" the Example, I ſay, of a King
" brought Priſoner to *Rome* by
" an Army of Eight Thouſand,
" which he had ſurrounded by
" Forty Thouſand better appoint-
" ed, and no leſs expert Warriors.
" This I am ſure of, that neither
" *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed
" by a Rabble of Half-Scullions,
" as *Livy* rightly terms them,
" nor thoſe cowardly Kings, *Per-*
" *ſius* and *Gentius*, are worthy
" Patterns. All that have read
" of *Creſſy* and *Agin-court* will
" bear me Witneſs that I do not
" alledge the Battle of *Poitiers* for
" lack of others as good Exam-
" ples of Engliſh Virtue: The
" proof whereof hath left many
" a hundred better Marks in all
" Quarters of *France*, than ever
" did the Valour of the *Romans*.

Would

Would you know what our raw Engliſh Soldiers can do? The great deciſive Battle of *Naſeby*, in the late Civil War, will inform you: The number of Forces was equal on both Sides, nor was there any Advantage in the Ground, or any extraordinary Accident which happen'd during the Fight, which could be of conſiderable Importance to either Side. In the Army of the Parliament only Nine of the Officers had ſerved abroad, and moſt of the Soldiers were Apprentices drawn out of *London* but Two Months before. In the King's Army there were above a thouſand Officers who had ſerv'd in Foreign Parts: Yet were they broken and routed by theſe new-rais'd Apprentices; who were obſerv'd to be obedient to Command, and brave in Fight, not only in that Action but on all Occaſions during that active Campaign.

But

But where was greater Military Virtue ſhewn than by our new-rais'd Army lately in *Flanders* ? I do not conceive that greater firmneſs of Mind can be ſhewn in War, than that which appear'd in the Engliſh at their Attack upon *Namure*, when they receiv'd all the Shot of the Enemy during their regular March up to the Paliſade, before they diſcharged upon the Enemy. This firmneſs of Mind in the Engliſh was ſo aſtoniſhing to the French, that it brake their Courage ſo as they never made any conſiderable Defence of that Fort afterwards. It may alſo be obſerved that the French, tho' abounding in numbers of experienced Officers, yet durſt not ever engage us without ſome very viſible Advantage.

Now when the whole People of *England* do upon all Accounts ſo

ſo well deſerve to be exerciſed in Arms, and when by Law they of Right ought to be ſo exerciſed, ſhall a meer accidental change of Artillery bereave the Nation of this Benefit, which for ever would preſerve them in caſe of any Foreign Invaſion? Is there ſuch a known Juſtice in all the Neighbouring Princes whereupon we may rely in the neglect of all preparation for Self-defence? May not the Method of Bows and Arrows be accommodated to Guns and Ball? This new Artillery is ſomewhat more chargeable; but are not the greateſt part of the People able to bear the Charge themſelves? And may not the poorer ſort be furniſhed at the Charge of the Pariſh, Hundred, or County? But the Game will ſuffer if the People are arm'd; yet Bullet will do no more harm than Arrows: Shot may be prohibited or limited as to its Make and Sale: Strict Penalties may be laid

laid upon thoſe who break in upon the Game. But the Security of the Nation ought firſt to be provided for, the ſecurity of Game can only challenge a ſecond Place.

Perhaps it may be apprehended by ſome Men, that in caſe the People ſhall be arm'd, the Government will be unſteady, and the Magiſtrate unſafe by reaſon of popular Tumults: but this Fear will vaniſh, when it ſhall plainly appear that an armed People will be the greateſt Security both of the State and the Church, againſt Inſurrections, and popular Tumults.

It muſt indeed be allowed, that if they who are moſt apt to raiſe Tumults ſhall be armed, and they whoſe Intereſt it is to ſuppreſs ſuch Tumults ſhall be unarm'd, the Objection would be very ſtrong againſt arming the People. But ac-

according to the Scheam laid down it will ſo fall out, that they who are apt to raiſe Tumults will be unarmed, and they whoſe intereſt it is to ſuppreſs 'em will be train'd up in Arms. The common Cauſe of popular Tumult is extream Want and Poverty, which ariſes ſometimes from Scarcity of Food, and ſometimes from Scarcity of Work, whereby it comes to paſs that altho' there be no Famine in the Land, yet they who depend upon their daily Labour for their daily Bread, are (for want of Imployment) laid under the heavy neceſſity of wanting Proviſions to ſupport Nature. In either of theſe Caſes, Tumults muſt be expected; but then, who ſhall raiſe theſe Tumults? Only ſuch poor wretched People who will be unarmed. For ſuppoſe all thoſe who pay to Church and Poor, in their reſpective Pariſhes, were arm'd, (and it cannot be ſuppoſed that any Perſons of inferior degree to thoſe

are

are capable of the charge of Arms) very few if any Men of this ſort will be found in a popular Tumult, occaſioned through extreme Want. But this ſort of Men will find it their Intereſt to ſuppreſs the Inſurrection; as may appear by what happen'd about three or fours Years ſince in the City of *Worceſter*, where the Mob aroſe and ſeized ſome Corn which (in a dear time) was bought in the Market of that City, and brought to *Severn* to be carried away in Barges to ſome other places upon that River. You may be ſure that no Shop-keepers, Clothiers, or reſponſible Inhabitants of that City were found in the Riot. But on the contrary, 'twas the Intereſt of every Citizen who was able to feed himſelf and Family, to diſcourage the Mob, that the Farmer might be encouraged to bring his Corn to the Market. And ſuppoſe that a Tumult ſhould

ariſe in any City or Market-Town in the Kingdom upon the ſame Occaſion, would not the Trading-part and all the ſufficient Inhabitants of the Town find themſelves obliged to protect the Market, to the end they may be ſupply'd with neceſſary Proviſions for Themſelves and Families? And being arm'd too, would they not be ſufficient to diſperſe a naked Rabble? But ſuppoſing ſuch a Tumult ſhould happen in the Country upon the ſame occaſion, would not every Man who held any Plough-Land or Paſture, be engaged to defend the Fields and the Barns, or Stacks of Hay or Corn againſt the Invaders?

To ſum up this Matter then, let it be ſuppoſed that Artillery were maintain'd upon this Foot, *viz.* That in all Cities, Towns Corporate and Market-Towns, every Shop-keeper, Trader, Artificer,

ficer, and every Perſon who by his Imployment, Dealing, or any other way, is able to maintain Himſelf and Family, ſhall be obliged to find Arms. And in all Country-places every Husbandman uſing and imploying Plough-Land or Paſture whereby he is enabled to maintain a Family ſhall find Arms, were not this Method the moſt effectual way to diſcourage popular Tumults? And if they were oblig'd to find Arms for their Children and Servants, would not the Son ſide with his Father, and the Servant with his Maſter? But if the Servant ſhould be otherwiſe inclined, his Arms may be reſerved in his Maſter's keeping. And how ſhall the Rabble of either Town or Country unarmed, be able to ſtand againſt the armed force of thoſe who are their Superiors in Quality, Number and Strength?

Permit me, good Sir, a little further to conſider the Caſe of popular Tumults, Riots, and Inſurrections, becauſe I have not found any Argument for arming the People, of equal force to this Objection. There are other Cauſes of popular Tumults beſides ſcarcity of Work or Proviſion. As for Inſtance, Enthuſiaſm, Misfortune in War, Oppreſſion and Male-adminiſtration.

By Enthuſiaſm was *Venner* and ſome few more Anabaptiſts inſpired with the Spirit of Tumult in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second: For he having read in one of the old Prophets, That *one thouſand ſhall fly at the rebuke of one*, Iſa. 30. 17. he thought himſelf to be the Perſon meant in the Text (though I dare ſay, that *Iſaiah* never dreamt of *Tom. Venner*) and therefore 'twas that he, with

with ſome few Accomplices, poſted themſelves in *Friday-ſtreet* near *Cheap-ſide*, and began a War upon the Kingdom. It muſt be own'd, that He and his Partizans were arm'd and were reſolute in their Attempt: And I make no doubt but that a Regiment of ſuch Men might have made a Conqueſt upon *London*, where the Citizens are unexerciſed in Arms, had not the King a ſufficient number of Guards to ſuppreſs them. But on the other ſide, ſuppoſing the Citizens to be experienced in the uſe of Arms, all the Enthuſiaſtick Madmen which that City can be ſuppos'd to produce, will never equal the number of thoſe who will remain in their Wits. But if the whole City ſhould become Lunatick, 'tis well that the Country ſhould be arm'd to take it into their Protection.

But Enthuſiaſm is ſeldom an Epidemical Diſeaſe; tho' it ſometimes falls out that one Madman may infect a Rabble with his whimſical Fancies; as happened about three or four Years ſince in *Northampton-ſhire*, where a poor Clergy-man had the Misfortune to fall into a ſtrong Phrenſy, and then ſtrongly fancied that our Saviour JESUS CHRIST was juſt then come down from Heaven to *Jeruſalem*, in order to begin his thouſand Years Reign upon Earth. And this News he tells all about the Neighbourhood with full aſſurance (as to him it ſeem'd) of its Truth. And as it falls out that an ungrounded Fear does often ſpread it ſelf wide among thoſe who are not capable to examin well into the bottom of Matters, ſo may an unreaſonable Confidence diffuſe it ſelf in like manner and become pannick.

And

And ſo it fell out that this poor diſtracted Clergy-man gain'd a numerous Rabble to his Party, with an intention to lead them to *Jeruſalem*. But his Death (as I remember) prevented his March, and gave the People opportunity to conſider better, and return to their homes. But ſuppoſe the Mob ſhould have been infected with a pannick Phrenſy, and had began their March towards *Jeruſalem*, Proviſion had been neceſſary for ſo long a March. Now what they could carry along with them from home would in a few Days be ſpent. And then if the County through which they were Travelling were unarm'd, what ſhould hinder this wild Rabble from ſeizing the Stores of the Country to ſupply their Wants? And what if it ſhould have come into their Heads to demoliſh the Churches, and deſtroy the old Prieſthood of the letter, in their

way to the new Spiritual *Jeruſalem*; I am apt to think that Prayers and Tears would not have prevail'd over theſe wild People, ſo powerfully as Powder and Ball. Whereby it may appear that the Security of the Church as well as that of the State depends upon Arms in the Hands of the People, ſince none but the Rabble are capable of being Spirited away from their Wits by Enthuſiaſts or Impoſtors.

Misfortune in War has ſometime given an occaſion of popular Tumult; as when the *Dutch* came up to *Chatham* in King *Charles* the Second's Reign. What a ſtrange pannick Fear poſſeſſed the *Londoners!* What railing and ranting was there againſt the negligence of the Government? Every one ſuppoſed that the Town would on the Morrow be plunder'd by the *Dutch*, and therefore bethought them-

themſelves how to get out of the way. The Wiſeſt hid their Treaſure in ſmall Vaults cunningly contriv'd for that purpoſe. The *Dutch* indeed ſoon withdrew, contenting themſelves with carrying away the *Royal Charles* a Firſt-Rate Ship of War in Triumph with them. And ſo the Fear was over. But yet what was it which cauſed ſo general a Mutiny in the City, but only a Diſtruſt in their own Artillery? For if only the Militia of *London* had been ſufficiently exercis'd in Arms, they alone might have been depended on for the Security of the City. But if all the Citizens of ſufficient Ability, both Maſters and Servants, Fathers and Sons, had been train'd up in Arms, they would ſoon have been between Home and Harms-way, and ſcarce a Woman or Child in the Town would have been frighten'd with the News of the Dutch.

You

You will ſay, What! Will the handling of Arms expel Cowardiſe, and give Men a ſufficient Courage for their own Defence? Yes moſt certainly both for Defence and Offence too. How elſe came the old Romans by their invincible Courage? For there was no very high Pulſe of noble Blood which beat in the Veins of thoſe poor Shepherds and Out-laws who made up the original People of *Rome*. But yet after the elder Men were ſet apart by *Romulus* for Counſel, and the younger Men were enjoyn'd to handle Arms, it came to paſs that the Sun never ſaw a more able Militia or better Armys gathered out of it.

No Place about *Rome* is more generally remembred than their Artillery-ground, known by the Name of *Campus Martius*, or *Mars-field*, in which the younger Sort (*viz.*

(*viz.* under 46 Years) came to exerciſe Chivalry: As Horſe-race, Foot-race, Wreſtling, Fencing, caſting the Bowl, the Sledge, the Dart, uſing the Sling, the Bow, beſides Vaulting and ſuch like Exerciſes: Upon which Account this Field was intitled to *Mars* their God of War, and was therefore ſtyled by *Strabo* the Roman's great School of Defence.

But whoſo reads *Vegetius Polybius*, and his *Commentator Lipſius de Militia Romana*, will find that this their *Artillery-ground*, or *Field of* Mars, was not large enough for all their uſual Military Exerciſes: The Firſt of which *Vegitius* calls *Ambulatio* or the *March*, of which he ſaith, *Nihil magis in itinere vel in acie cuſtodiendum eſt quam ut omnes milites incedendi ordinem* Servent: *Quod aliter non poteſt, niſi ut aſſiduo exercitio ambulare celeriter & equaliter diſcant*, i. e. *Nothing is more*

more uſeful in War than that an Army ſhould learn to take a ſpeedy March in Rank and File. In order to which he tells you, that 'twas an uſual Exerciſe for the young Romans to march with all their Arms about them for the ſpace of ten Miles both forwards and backwards with great Speed. For Proof whereof *Lipſius* in his firſt Book of the Roman Militia, produces ſeveral Witneſſes.

The ſecond military Exerciſe of the *Romans*, *Vegetius* calls *Decurſio*, or the *Run*, and gives the Reaſon of it in theſe Words, *Ad curſum præcipue adſuefaciendi ſunt milites ut majori impetu in hoſtem procurrant, ut loca opportuna celeriter occupent ut ad explorandum alacriter pergant: Ut fugientium terga facilius comprehendant*, i. e. *That with the greater force they may make their onſet upon the Enemy, that they may be nimble enough to gain a Paſs or*

an

an advantagius Poſt before the Enemy poſſeſſeth it: That their Scouts may perform their Duty with greater Agility and Quickneſs, and laſt of all that they may the ſooner overtake the Enemy in his Flight. The third Exerciſe *Vegetius* calls *Palaria* from *Palus*, a Stake of ſix Foot high above Ground, carved in the Shape of a humane Body, with which the young Soldier was uſed to make a Sham-Fight in the Preſence of his Campi-Doctor, or Military-Tutor; and in this Exerciſe, ſaith our Author, *Servabatur illa cautela ut cum tyro ad inferendum vulnus aſſurgeret; ne qua ex parte ipſe pateret ad plagam*, i. e. *Care was to be taken that whilſt the young Souldier aroſe up to wound the Enemy, he ſhould ſo guard himſelf, that he might not lie open to receive any Wound himſelf.*

How frequently theſe military Exerciſes were perform'd, our Au-

Author declares in theſe Words, *Juniores & novi milites mane & poſt meridiem ad omne genus exercebantur armorum: Veteres autem & eruditi ſemel in die exercebantur.* i. e. *The yonnger ſort were exercis'd twice a day, but the old Soldiers once a day only.* Not that this Exerciſe laſted all the Year long, but as our *Godwyn* ſaith in his Antiquities, *It was a Cuſtom among the* Romans *ſometimes in the Year to have a general Muſter of the younger ſort, who meeting in the* Cirque *exercis'd their Running, Racing, Riding at Tilt, and other ſuch like Feats of Activity, whereby they might be trained up for their better Service in the War. They choſe a Captain one or other of Noble Birth, he was call'd* Princeps Inventutis. *They divided themſelves into diſtinct Companies, ſometimes marching forward one againſt the other, ſometimes retiring backwards, ſometimes skirmiſhing, ſometimes imbatteling themſelves*

ſelves in one Form, ſometimes in an other, as if it were a true Field pitched. Godwyn's *Roman Antiquities*, lib. 2. ſect. 3. cap. 12.

And thus at their ſet times every year all the *Romans* of ſufficient Ability were obliged to make their Campaigns from the Age of Seventeen Years to the Age of Forty ſix Years, as *Lipſius* ſetteth forth. And for the Encouragement of theſe Military Exerciſes, *Polybius* writes, That no Man was allowed as capable to bear Office in the Civil Magiſtracy of *Rome*, who had not made Ten Campaigns. His Words are theſe, πολίτικὴν δ' λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν ἔκ ἔξεσιν ἑνὶ πρότερον ἐαν μὴ δέκα στρατείας ἐνιαυσίας ἢ τετελεκὼς.

But I fear that I have digreſſed too far upon this Head of the *Roman* Diſcipline in the Exerciſe of Arms: Whereas all that I intended to ſay was that their con-

conſtant cuſtom of handling Arms laid the foundation of that invincible Courage and Conſtancy of Mind, which at laſt rendered the *Romans* Maſters of the World.

I find alſo that a great Scholar and Soldier, namely *Joſephus*, was of this Opinion, *viz.* That the Empire of the World was not the Gift of Fortune to the *Romans*, but the aqueſt of their own military Virtue, which they gain'd by their conſtant Exerciſe in Arms. His Words according to *Juſtus Lipſius*'s Tranſlation in his fifth Book *de Militia Romana*, and Dialogue the 14th are theſe, *Quod ſi quis alium Romanorum ordinem in militia inſpexerit, videbit hoc grande Imperium eos habere virtutis meritum, non fortunæ beneficium, non enim initium illis armorum ipſum bellum eſt, nec Solum cum uſus aut neceſſitas eſt manus movent, in pace feri-*

feriati, ſed tanquam congeniti armis nunqnam pauſam Exercitii faciunt. From hence 'tis very plain that *Joſephus* aſcrib'd all the military Virtue of the *Romans* to nothing elſe beſides their frequent Exerciſe in Arms.

But begging Pardon for this long Digreſſion concerning the *Roman* Militia, I return to the ſubject Matter from whence I digreſſed: Which was to ſhew, that in caſe of popular Tumults it was the greateſt Safety to the State and Church, that all the People of Ability and Sufficiency ſhould be train'd up in Arms. But I have purſued this Argument only with relation to Tumults ariſing from extreme Want, Enthuſiaſm and Misfortune in War, leaving the Caſes of Oppreſſion and Male-adminiſtration as yet unconſidered. Nor do theſe Caſes ſtand in need of any long conſideration. For

if it be granted that an armed People will ſupport a juſt and legal Adminiſtration both in State and Church, 'tis no great harm if the People by the help of their Arms ſhould happen to defend themſelves againſt Tyranny and Oppreſſion. Nor can I ſee any Reaſon why they ſhould take part with Tyrants and Oppreſſors.

But ſuppoſing the old ſtanding Law of Artillery ſhould in this manner be accomodated to Powder and Ball, one thing cannot but be foreſeen, which is, That the Quakers will not obey the Law in bearing Arms; but will expect to be defended by the Arms of others. Wherefore 'tis Reaſon that they compenſate with their Purſe the want of their active Aſſiſtance in Arms. And therefore ſince Buts to ſhoot at with Bullet be of abſolute neceſſity, and ſince 'twill be very convenient

nient to allow ſome ſmall Stipends to old Soldiers for their Pains in Exerciſing the young ones; a ſmall Tax may be raiſed from the Quakers, to procure either one or both of theſe Conveniences.

'Tis pity indeed that any Man's Religion ſhould render him uſeleſs to ſuch a Country as ours, in which our NATIONAL RELIGION, being added to the *Engliſh* Fidelity and good Nature,

6. Claims to Incorporate all the Proteſtants in the World into our National Intereſt; our Situation alſo and Naval Strength aſſiſting hereunto. Queen *Elizabeth* made her ſelf Umpire of all *Europe*'s Differences, chiefly by patronizing the Proteſtant Intereſt whereſoever it was Oppreſs'd. And in this reſpect her Reign was raiſed to a higher Point

of Glory than any of her Royal Predeceſſors. For as the Pope has always ſo many Subjects as there are Papiſts in any Proteſtant Dominions; ſo, on the contrary, the Queen had the Hearts of all Proteſtants living in Popiſh Territories. 'Twas this Policy, together with the Love which *England* bare toward that Queen, which made the Pope (as then was) diſtruſt his ſpiritual Thunder-bolts, and head ſecret Aſſaſſinations againſt her. It muſt be acknowledged that the *Scotiſh* Line, which ſucceeded that Queen, look'd upon this Conduct in her to be Pragmatical; but 'tis as true that none of this Line as yet has been look'd upon as holding the Ballance of *Europe*. And to this Article it may be added, That our Proteſtant Profeſſion (which excludes the Pope from any Competition in our Allegiance) being added to our good Nature, gives us a juſt Claim to the

the whole Heart of our Sovereign Lord the King, and by how much the leſs we Flatter him, ſo much the more he may rely upon our Fidelity.

Nor was there ever ſuch an extraordinary Accident fell out, which could lay ſo great a Foundation of mutual Truſt between King and People, as what has lately happened. For whereas *Lewis* the *French* King, had conſpired with *James* the 2d. then King of *England*, to root up the true Chriſtian Profeſſion by deſtroying all its Profeſſors, the (then) Prince of *Orange* (who had particularly been inſulted by *Lewis* the *French* King) having no other way to eſcape the further inſolence of that Tyrant, united himſelf to the Engliſh Intereſt, whereby at once he both gave and took Succour, which ought to be mutually Acknowledged, and own'd

on both ſides, as mutual Aſſiſtance in common Danger lays the firmeſt Foundation of mutual Friendſhip.

7. From this Circumſtance, in conjunction with thoſe afore-mentioned, the Engliſh People may claim to bear the greateſt ſway in *Europe*; eſpecially when no other Nation enjoys ſuch a Concurrance of happy Circumſtances leading hereunto. And I make no doubt but if their Particulars were ſet in a proper Light by your Pen, the People being appriz'd hereof would at one time or other aſſert their Claims. But (alas) they have been bred up in ſo mean an Opinion of themſelves, that they think it goes well with them if they may eat Bread from Day to Day, wear out their old Cloaths, and ſleep in their own Beds without an Army to keep the Peace among them; as taking

it for their greateſt Enjoyment that they are not reduced to the condition of *French* Vaſſals.

But how eaſy would it be for the People (if once awakened) to gain poſſeſſion of all the Rights to which they make ſo juſt a Claim, being aſſiſted by the FREEHOLDERS, in whoſe Power it is to chuſe ſuch a Repreſentative of the People in Parliament, as may do them Right in this Caſe?

To which end the FREEHOLDERS (to whom this weak Imagination of an Eſſay, when improv'd, ought to be addreſſed) may be advertiz'd as to what ſort of Men may be fitteſt for this purpoſe.

1. A Sincerity in what a Man profeſſeth is the firſt and beſt Qualification for a Member of Parlia-

ment. If a Man has always profeſſed a Love to his Country, and ſhewn the *reality* thereof by aſſiſting and conſtantly encouraging his Fellow-Subjects to oppoſe Tyrany from Abroad, and Uſurpation at Home; and has always ſhewn himſelf ſteady herein, this Man is ſurely above all others to be entruſted by the People to repreſent them in Parliament. So on the other Hand, ſuppoſe a Man to be an open *Jacobite* in his Profeſſion, tho' I cannot think that any Body of People in *England* ſhould chooſe ſuch a one to be a Member of Parliament, yet if ſuch a one could be choſen into the Honourable Houſe of Commons, he would not be able to do ſo much harm as a cunning State-hypocrite, who profeſſing a Love to publick Liberty, ſhould carry on an inſatiable Revenge againſt ſome few ill-deſerving Perſons, to the diſcouragement of thoſe who are innocent,

nocent, and never declined from their former Profeſſion of publick Virtue.

I cannot but look upon *Moderation* to be a mark of Sincerity. For if I who have done ill Things heretofore, whereof I am now made ſenſible, ſhall yet be very ſevere in Proſecuting thoſe who of late have been guilty of the ſame Faults with what mine were heretofore; an indifferent Stander-by will be apt to queſtion the reality of my ſudden Change, eſpecially when I have never retracted my old Iniquities, nor ſo much as in Publick condemned that Fault in my Self, which I am ſo ſeverely puniſhing in Others. I do not think that any Man, who by Court-allurements has been charm'd from his publick Virtue, can be relied upon after he has forſaken his former Profeſſion. Nor is a new Convert preſently to be *entruſted*, tho'

tho' he ought to be *eſteemed* ſo long as he keeps to his new Profeſſion.

Let us remove the Scene to *France*, and ſuppoſe that the late Converts to the Roman Catholick Faith, ſhould puſh on very boldly to obtain the Honours and publick Truſts, which are in the diſpoſal of the *French* King: Would not he and all the Roman Catholicks in *France* ſuſpect the Sincerity of the new Converts, and likewiſe that there was ſome ſecret Deſign covered over with the Pretence of a new Converſion? For 'tis certain that an Hypocrite in Religion is capable of doing more Miſchief to the Religion he profeſſeth, than a declared Atheiſt can do: Becauſe the open Profeſſion of the one makes him avoided, and perhaps abhorr'd, whilſt the Cloak of Religion gives to the other an Opportunity of ſly and dangerous Tranſ-

Tranſactions. And, as Matters now ſtand in *England*, What Injury can all the open Non-ſwearing *Jacobites* do to us, when the Body of the People avoid and abhor them? But yet a State-hypocrite being admitted into the great Council of the Nation, may find a way to walk undiſcovered in dangerous By-paths, and cannot want ſpecious Pretences to cover his Treachery. I remember one *Andrew Sall* a Jeſuite born in *Ireland*, but bred up in *Salamanca*, where he held the Chair of Divinity for ſeveral Years. This Man after ſeven Years Conference with a learned Prelate, was at laſt wrought upon to renounce the Popiſh Superſtition, and embrace the Chriſtian Faith, as it is profeſſed in the Church of *England*: And to ſhew the reality of his Converſion, he would accept of no more Preferment in our Church, than whereby to ſupply his meer want

want of Food and Raiment, leaſt it ſhould ever be ſaid that he was any way biaſſed by worldly Intereſt to change his Religion. But if this new Convert had put on a Face of Zeal againſt Popery, and decry'd the Biſhops and Dignitaries of the Church of *England* for complying with *Rome*, in admitting unwarranted and ſuſpicious Ceremonies, and ſome ſet Forms of Devotion, not unlike to thoſe which are to be ſeen in the old *Roman* Miſſal, and ſhould hereupon have infer'd that they ought to be turn'd out of their Places, to the end that ſuch new Converts as himſelf might come into their honourable and profitable Preferments; the Sincerity of this new Convert would have been much doubted of; and he would have been generally thought no better than an old Jeſuite ſtill. But had he done this when the Papiſts had been lately Plotting againſt

againſt the Government, and when the *French* King, who is the known Hero of that Church, had been preparing to Fight her Battles: What *Engliſh* Proteſtant could have forborn to ſuſpect this new Convert of a Deſign to embroil us at Home when we ſtood in the greateſt need of mutual Confidence, in order to our neceſſary Defence againſt our known Enemy? A ſteady Conduct in any good Thing demands Applauſe, but a ſudden and loud Zeal, when there is no viſible and iminent Danger which provokes it, challenges Suſpicion as its due. And therefore

2. All Religious Bigots of any Party may be paſſed by. Honeſt Men being more likely to make good theſe CLAIMS than either high Church-men or rigid Diſſenters: For as much as the publick Weal does not depend either

either upon Ceremonies or no Ceremonies.

3. All Royal Flatterers, Court-Penſioners, or Expectants of Court-Favour, may be omitted. For tho' a King of *England* can have no Intereſt ſeparate from that of his People, yet 'tis manifeſt that a Court may purſue a particular Intereſt of its own, which ſhall be ſeparate from that of both King and People: As was very viſible during the 4 Scottiſh Reigns, wherein Queen *Elizabeth*'s Maxims of heading the Proteſtants and holding the Ballance of *Europe* were laid aſide: Whilſt the Court-penſioners made it their Buſineſs to poſſeſs their Royal Maſters with a Notion of ſome high Prerogatives veſted in the Crown by God himſelf, without the conſent of the People. And indeed by ſinking the ancient Rights of the People into this Abyſs of *Prerogative*, theſe

theſe Court-paraſites made their way to Royal Favour, ſo far as to engroſs all the publick Truſts of the Realm into their own Hands. By this means they form'd themſelves into a ſort of Body-politick, which was as far extended as there were profitable Truſts in the Nation. All the Members hereof ſpoke the ſame Things, and acted in the ſame manner, and to the ſame Ends and Purpoſes; being always unanimous in diſpenſing their Favours, and ſhewing their Reſentments. And when any one Member of this Body was promoted to ſome eminent Station in the Realm (which Thing could ſeldom fail) this powerful Man became the Head of the whole Body, which was ſpirited with one private Intereſt equally dear to all the Members: Who were join'd in one and the ſame Deſign, of flattering their Royal Maſter with his Prerogative, and ſerving them-

themſelves with his Intereſt, Power and Purſe.

By this Court-Intereſt Kings have been beſet in their own Palaces, and prevented from either ſeeing or hearing of their own neareſt Concerns. Nor is this Body infirm or ſubject to decay, ſince no Man can expect ſo effectual a Recommendation to any Honour or profitable Truſt, as theſe Men can give him. And you may be ſure that they will beſtow a Character upon none, but thoſe who are qualify'd for ſuch a Favour.

'Tis no Wonder then if all the Men of this Court-faction are of the ſame Opinion, and Vote the ſame way (as the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* hold conſtantly to the Opinions of their own reſpective Orders). But this Union is never ſo ſtrong as under the Primacy of ſome

eminent Favourite, whom they call a Great Stateſman; tho' commonly nothing be more contrary to his narrow Chittiſh Genius than the Character of a great Stateſman. For ſuch a one hath a ſtrong Affection to the general Good of his own Country, and to the Benefit of Mankind: Whereas a cunning Stateſman, (ſuch as is their Idol) has only the Craft to render himſelf ſeemingly neceſſary to a Prince, by forming and managing a Party: Which is no better an Art, than packing the Cards or cogging the Dice.

Nor did this ſort of Men formerly ſo much as pretend to conſider the Intereſt of the People, but only to do the King's Buſineſs as they call'd it, which in every part of it under their Management, was apparently different from the Intereſt of the People. Yet if any Man adventured to blame their Conduct, they cry'd

out with one Mouth, That the King was wounded through their Sides; and all who diſliked their Proceedings, were call'd Enemies to the Government.

But let the Scottiſh Line ſpeak what Services this Court-party has ever done for them, notwithſtanding they gain'd the high Church to their Aſſiſtance, by giving the Honours and Preferments thereof to the Preachers of *Jure Divino* and *Paſſive Obedsence?* For Things fell out ſo odly, that the ſame Doctrine which was deſign'd to deſtroy the antient Rights of a Free People, had in it a ſtrange force in *recoiling* back upon thoſe Princes who firſt promoted its Power. For

Paſſive Obedience being apply'd in a black Plaiſter to the Body of King *James* the Firſt (witneſs the Great Duke of *Buckingham* who was pridy thereto) dethron'd that Divine Monarch. *Quantus Artifex periit!* The ſame *Paſſive*

Obe-

Obedience, in the ſhape of an Axe, fell upon the Neck of King *Charles* the Firſt, and ſeparated that Head from the Body-natural, which it had before divided from the Body-politick. King *Charles* the Second met with it in his Diſh. And *James* the Second is at this Day the living Monument of *Paſſive Obedience* in the natural Soyl where it has its rankeſt Growth. Had our former Parliaments been unclogg'd from the Court-party which invented this deſperate Machine of *Paſſive Obedience*, theſe Kings might have Reign'd over a loving People with Grey Hairs (which *Solomon* calls Crowns of Glory) on their Heads. Their Lives would have been prolong'd, and their Memories immortal.

But if moſt of our Kings from the time of *William* the Firſt, have had juſt Reaſon to complain againſt this ſort of Court-Virmin, as the parallel Hiſtories of their

Favorites, Minions and Flatterers inform us; and if the Parliament, who is the only Cheque upon this pernicious Party, ſhall be fill'd with the ſame, 'tis not then imaginable how any Prince ſhould continue a happy Reign over us.

For let a Sovereign Prince be as ſenſible of his People's Goods as their own Hearts can wiſh, let him be as upright as an Angel in his goed Diſpoſition towards them, yet this Party will hinder the People from receiving any Benefit by theſe his Princely Diſpoſitions towards them: But they will certainly give a contrary Turn to all his gracious Inclinations. Witneſs King *Charles* the Second, who a little before his Reſtoration emitted a Declaration from *Breda*; in which he ſpecified not only the greateſt Grievances of *England*, but alſo the proper Means of their Redreſs, promiſing moreover his Royal Aſſiſtance therein.

No

No Man could doubt but that it was his true Intereſt to make good his Royal Word: Nor can I ſee any Reaſon to queſtion the reality of his Intentions, ſince for two Years together after his return, his Practiſe was agreeable to his Declaration. The Caſe was thus.

The Nation for ſome Years during the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, had been ſet into a Ferment about ſome *Externals* of Religion. This Fermentation aroſe by means of the *Laudean Faction*, who ſeverely perſecuted all Proteſtants who would not ſubmit to their Forms and Ceremonies. This Religious Quarrel at laſt broke out into a Barbarous, Bloody, Civil, Ceremonial War, in which they who had been oppreſs'd, did at laſt free themſelves from their Oppreſſors. But after all, this unſteady Party was willing to reſtore King *Caarles* the Second to the Throne from whence

they had caſt his Father down: Not doubting but that the Son would encourage *Moderation* in Matters of both Church and State, being warn'd by his Fathers unhappy Downfal, ſo lately brought to paſs by his rigid adherence to a *high Church and Prerogative Court Party*. Nor did the King at his return ſhew himſelf unwilling to anſwer their Expectations, for he took into his Favour ſeveral eminent Men of the Party formerly oppreſſed; but notwithſtanding all this, the *Laudean Faction and Court Party* joining together, in the ſpace of two Years after his return, had Power not only to influence the King but Parliament too, againſt all Thoughts of Moderation. And that very *Laudean Faction*, whoſe violent Proceedings haſtened on the unhappy Fate of *Charles* the Firſt, renew'd their Bitterneſs againſt their Proteſtant Brethren in the beginning of his Son's re-

turn;

turn; and had the Confidence to call themſelves the *Church of England*, in excluſion to all other Proteſtants in the Realm

Add hereunto, That this Party having gain'd an eaſy-natur'd Prince to their Side, they form'd an open Conſpiracy againſt the Joint-Intereſt of both King and People, which appear'd to every ſenſible Man in *Englnnd*.

I. From their Voting up a Standing-Army at *Black-heath*, to be a Terror to the King's Subjects in time of Peace: But at the ſame time they would contribute no Aſſiſtance to obviate the growing Greatneſs of *France*.

II. By exhauſting the Wealth of the Subject in time of Peace by unreaſonable Taxes, for no other end but to increaſe the King's Luxury and their own Penſions.

III. By ſupporting the (then) Duke of *York* in his Apoſtacy from the Chriſtian Religion, in oppoſition to the Proteſtant In-

tereſt in general, and in dimunition to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So that all the Expence of Blood and Treaſure we have patiently endured ſince his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, and all the Jeopardy and Hazard we lay under during the Reign of the late King *James* of unhappy Memory, is juſtly chargeable upon the Court-party of King *Charles* the Second. Whatever Names or Appellations this Party take to themſelves, they have always carried about 'em the ſame Inclinations. Sometimes they call 'emſelves *Church-men* and ſometimes *Kings-men*, and by their Friends they are ſtyled *The Government*. But the Court-nature is like that of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, which alters not; and their Hiſtory and Actions diſcover them better than any Denomination: And ſince the Genius of this Party has always led them into an Intereſt ſeparate from that of the

the People, 'tis manifeſt that neither King or People are ſafe when they are permitted to influence National Counſels in Parliament.

I ſaid, That this Court-party in ſome late Reigns was uſually ſtyled *The Government*; and thoſe who diſliked their ill Management, were call'd *Enemies to the Government*. Now this Court-Style, were it innocent, might have been endured. But the conſequence of admitting this Style is highly pernicious to *Old England*; becauſe the Government of *England* is a Government of Laws, as the *French* Government is a Government of Men. We are all ſubject to the known ſettled Laws of the Land, whilſt the *French* are ſubjected to the *uncertain Will* of their Rulers. So that this Court-Style is only an Art of *Hocus Pocus* to convey the Idea of Engliſh Government out of our Minds, and to ſlide the Idea of *French Government* into the room of it.

It

It is owned, That all Governments are made by Man, and ought to be made by thoſe Men who are Owners of the Territory over which the Government extends. It muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, That the FREEHOLDERS of *England* are Owners of the Engliſh Territory, and therefore have a natural Right to erect what Government they pleaſe. And 'tis evident that our Fore-fathers thought fit to ſend their Repreſentatives up to Parliament, and empower them to make Laws for the Behoof of the People; and likewiſe to be their Grand Inqueſt, to the end that they might redreſs ſuch Grievances as Inferior Courts are not ſufficiently powerful to correct: Such as are the Enormities committed by the great Men of the Realm, or great Favourites of the King, who have ſometimes been able to overſway Inferiour Courts. And as it would have been a great

great Overſight in the Conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons to have admitted the Lords to have ſate and voted among them, by whom thoſe noble Peers may be Impeached of Treaſon or high Miſdemeanours, ſo is it as much diſagreeable to the ſame Conſtitution to admit *Court-place-holders* into the Honourable Houſe. Since 'tis contrary both to common Right and common Senſe to admit the Criminal for a Judge in his own Cauſe. I have heard a Learned Lawyer ſay, That if a Judge in the Bench of *Common-Pleas* ſhall ſit in Judgment on the *King's Bench*, he does thereby forfeit his Patent to his Office in the *Common Pleas*. And the Reaſon is, becauſe the Miſdemeanors committed by the Juſtices of the *Common Pleas* fall under the Correction of the *King's Bench*. And for the ſame Reaſon a Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons may juſtly be required

to

to forfeit his Place in that Houſe, when he is admitted into a Place at Court. For no Man can ſerve two Maſters, when their Intereſts are ſo different as that of Court and Country have always been.

But yet I remember in the Reign of King *Charles* II. that many well-meaning Free-holders would Vote into Parliament ſuch Men who were diſtinguiſhed by ſome Mark of Court-favour; alledging, in their behalf, that it was fit that the King ſhould have his *Friends* ſit in the Houſe of Commons: Not conſidering that every Member is the *King's Friend* ſo long as he diſcharges his Duty to the People, and no longer. For if the People's Wealth and Strength be increaſed, the King is made proportionably greater and ſtronger. But if a *ſeparate Intereſt* between King and People may be allowed, who can blame a King that ſhall find out

a cunning Stateſman, and place him in the prime Miniſtry, the conſequence whereof will be that all the Officers in publick Truſt will be of the ſame *Stamp* with this *Favourite Miniſter* who prefers them. For the Court has gain'd the Reverſe of the Philoſophers-Stone, and can tranſmute Gold into Braſs, and Silver into Lead. Or, to draw a compariſon from Religion, as when the Grace of God ſhall ſhine upon the Heart of a ſtubborn Sinner, it will enlighten his Mind, enliven his Affections, and give him the caſt of true Religion. So, on the contrary, when Court-favour ſhall break forth upon ſome *zealous Patriot*, who for ſome Years paſt has maintain'd an unrelenting Integrity, it melts him down as Wax before the Sun, and runs him into a *Court-mould*. So then if honeſt Men, who purſue the Intereſt of their Country, fill the Houſe, there cannot be a Man among

among them who is not the *King's Friend.* But if Courtiers fill up that Aſſembly the People are Friendleſs, and the King cannot fail to loſe the Affections of his People, by a *Court-Adminiſtration* in that Houſe.

But on the other Hand if none were elected Members of Parliament who hold any Place or Office (excepting ſuch as ſhall be conferred by the Eſtates of the Realm) the effect of it will be this, *viz.* the Parliament will repreſent not the *Court* but *People* of *England*, and conſequently will purſue no other Intereſt but theirs; whereby all the foremention'd Claims will be made good. Then muſt his Majeſty be the greateſt King, when his People are the greateſt People in *Europe*: Then ſhall Honour and Honeſty, Peace and good Neighbourhood return, and introduce the *Millennium* by the Reſtauration of *Old England.*

POST-

Poſtſcript.

HAving written this Letter in the beginning of this Seſſion of Parliament, I laid it by me when the Bill of Succeſſion was brought into Parliament, and waited to ſee if any Thing of *England*'s CLAIMS would be uſher'd in by that Bill. I cannot expreſs to you the Joy I was tranſported with when I underſtood with what an Unanimous Concurrence both Houſes of Parliament laid their Claim to as great Advantages as *England* has ever enjoy'd. As

I. That the next Proteſtant Succeſſor to her Royal Highneſs (ſhould ſhe demize the Crown without Iſſue of her own Body) ſhall be obliged to embrace the Communion of the Church of *England*, and ſo ſhall all following Kings and Queens.

II.

II. That the Lords of the Privy Council ſhall Sign the Advice which they ſhall think fit to give.

III. That no Perſon enjoying either Place or Penſion from the Court, ſhall be capable of ſitting in the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

IV. That no Pardon may be pleaded to hinder the Judgment of the moſt Honourable Houſe of Peers (upon Matters of Impeachment) from its due Execution.

V. That no Foreigner ſhall be capable to Sit in either Houſe of Parliament, or to receive any Grants from the Crown.

VI. That the reigning Sovereign ſhall not go out of the Nations ſubject to his Juriſdiction into any Foreign Country, without the conſent of Parliament.

VII. If either the King or Queen of *England* ſhall have a Juriſdiction over any Foreign Country, the Subjects of *England* ſhall not

not be engaged in any War in Defence of that Foreign Territory, without the Conſent of Parliament.

VIII. That the Salleries of the Judges ſhall be conſtantly paid; and that they ſhall not be remov'd at the King's Pleaſure, but only for ſufficient Miſdemeanor, or by the Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament.

IX. A Confirmation of all our former Laws.

And now ſince it has pleaſed the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty moſt graciouſly to paſs all theſe CLAIMS into a Law, I cannot doubt but that every Claim of the People of *England* (if any ſuch remain) will be allow'd by Royal Authority as ſoon as deſired. So that I had no occaſion to have ſent this Letter to you now, but only becauſe it ſums up the Heads of that Diſcourſe which formerly paſſed between you and me: And likewiſe becauſe I am willing to

take this opportunity to congratuate with you, that the Subject-matter of our Diſcourſe has in great meaſure been ſo fortunate as to find the favour of a Publick Eſtabliſhment.

For what can more directly tend to curb the exorbitant Power of *France* than the 4th Limitation in the late Succeſſion Act, wherein it is enacted, **That all Matters and Things relating to the Well-governing of this Kingdom, being properly cognizable in the Privy Council by the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, ſhall be tranſacted there; and all Reſolutions taken thereupon, ſhall be ſign'd by ſuch of the Privy-Council as ſhall adviſe and conſent unto the ſame.** This

Clauſe

Clauſe leaves no room for *French* Applications; and amounts to as much as if there were a ſtanding Committee of Parliament to manage all the great Affairs of the Kingdom; ſince what is ſign'd by the Privy Council is cognizable in Parliament.

By this ſort of management our King, acting by the Advice of his Council, can never be laid under blame, nor ſo much as be in a capacity of diſobliging his Subjects, who will therefore Unanimouſly adhere to him; there being not the leaſt colour for any Parties or Diviſions in *England* now remaining; and if there be any diſcontented Common-wealths Man in the Land, he is by this Statute actually condemn'd as aboveſaid to the Baboons. There is no room now left for Mutiny and Diſcontent, nor any encouragement for *French* Practices upon *Engliſh* Patriots. For hereby it will come to paſs, that the *French* King may from henceforward

forward have an opportunity of keeping his Mony from travelling abroad. All that will be neceſſary for him to do, is only now and then to ſend a ſhip lading of *Burgundy* or *Bourdeaux* Claret, to be preſented among our Miniſters and moving Men, to keep 'em in good Humour, that they ſhould not pick Quarrels with *France*. And a Preſent of this nature may be honeſtly receiv'd, according to an old Rule in Laws, *viz. Eſcutenta & Potulenta non ſunt Bribamenta.* And then it may chance, Sir, that you and I may drink a Glaſs to the good repoſe of Monſieur *Lewis*, who at preſent allows no repoſe to his own Subjects, or the reſt of Mankind.

I am with all Sincerity,

Your moſt obliged and moſt humble Servant, &c.

FINIS.